

20¢ JULY 31, 1950

New Republic

PROFITEERS: THE REAL FIFTH COLUMN

AN EDITORIAL

THE UNITED NATIONS — IN KOREA AND LATER

By PETER KIHSS

ISRAEL AFTER TWO YEARS

By LEWIS S. FEUER

ROBERT PENN WARREN'S NEW NOVEL

Reviewed by ROBERT HATCH

POINT 4—plus ideas

■ Whether the Korean incident will terminate as a successful police action by the UN, or the whole coast of China erupt in war, American aid to the Orient, under Point 4, now has top priority.

■ As our experience with Nationalist China proved, money, materials and guns are not enough. Those who administer the aid must have behind them a government free of corruption, dedicated to the people's welfare and capable of rallying the support of all classes.

■ Insofar as America sets the highest standards in its own conduct, it will serve as an example and guide to the Asian regimes we seek to stabilize.

■ By a rigorous and just tax policy, by the institution and graft-free administration of rigorous controls, the American Congress can demonstrate that profits and greed are not the compelling motives of our capitalist democracy.

■ The ideas, specific proposals and final solutions for these ends can emerge only from widespread public discussion and debate. It is the function of the *New Republic* to pose questions, circulate new ideas and work for the answers it believes will help make the American democracy stronger. As a reader you take part in this weekly discussion upon which so much depends.

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EDITOR: Michael Straight

EDITORIAL DIRECTOR: Bruce Bliven

PUBLISHER: Daniel Mebane

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS: Malcolm Cowley, John Farrelly, Harold L. Ickes, Joseph P. Lash, Max Lerner, James R. Newman, Gus Tyler

FOREIGN AFFAIRS EDITOR: Percy Winner

WASHINGTON BUREAU: Helen Fuller (Political Editor), Jean Begeman

DEPARTMENTS: Robert Hatch (Chief), Cecil Smith (Music), Saul Carson (Radio and Television), Harold Clurman (Theatre), Lincoln Kirstein (Fine Arts)

COPY EDITING: Elizabeth Huling (Chief), Ruth Tarcov

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WASHINGTON WIRE

ABOUT ALL we can add to the Korean discussion on the military side is this. Officials still do not believe the Soviet has passed "the point of no return" which makes general war inevitable. In Korea things look better, but it is doubtful whether a counter-offensive could start before mid-August at the earliest. The first of the so-called "new" weapons has arrived, the recoilless 3.5-inch bazooka, weighing only 12 pounds, fired from the shoulder of one man; it is already knocking out the biggest Soviet tanks. On the other side of the world, in London, at the meeting of deputies of the North Atlantic Council which started July 25, America is making a spectacular proposal. America has launched its own program to expand US armed forces. Now it proposes to pay a substantial part of the cost of launching a similar expansion of the NAC armed forces. This financing of European arms will be over and above the current Military Aid Program, the second year's installment of which has just passed Congress with only one vote of dissent in the two Houses. This new step is another example of strong Truman leadership. It is unprecedented—like the times.



The weakest point in Truman's big message to Congress last week was his failure to ask for immediate, implicit powers of economic control and taxation. The ancient fallacy about inflation is that you can stop it by criticizing it. Editorials are now in the mournful finger-wagging stage about inflation. Some current food hoarding is, of course, silly. But general prices started upward before Korea. Where dollar supply is larger than goods supply, prices rise to their own level as automatically as water. A whole series of "socialistic" steps can be taken to halt this, but action must be fast and drastic. If they aren't taken, you won't be able to sell war bonds. Millions of Americans will think twice about buying "the safest investment in the world" only to see it lose 43 cents on the dollar, as the last

batch did, by inflation. If war bonds are sold, inflation must be curbed. A second point: note that it is not the workers' demands for higher wages that set off current price increases; the inflationary price spiral began first. The inevitable demand for higher wages is yet to start.

You could have heard a pin drop in the green-carpeted Senate floor last Thursday afternoon when secretaries of Senator Tydings began un-reeling long black coils of electric cord to his desk on which a small phonograph had been mounted. The supposed "lost" McCarthy radio speech at Wheeling, West Virginia, February 9, had been found. This speech was the "I-have-in-my-hand" address where McCarthy alleged he had a list of "205 card-carrying Communists" in the State Department known to Acheson. This was the statement which Senator McCarthy later, under oath before the Tydings' committee, denied having made.

Looking back over a quarter century of covering the Senate, we honestly think the scene that followed was the most spectacular we ever saw. The Democrats were crouched in their seats positively growling for revenge. You could actually hear a hoarse angry mutter as Tydings finally broke his long silence. Across the aisle about half the Republicans were on hand, with McCarthy at his desk, covering his lips with his hand. As expected, GOP leader Wherry blocked replaying the McCarthy broadcast which would have proved perjury dramatically from the speaker's own voice. But the little box sat there accusingly and from time to time Tydings held up the menacing disc.

Now Millard Tydings, God knows, is no flaming liberal, but he put on as good a show as we have ever watched. Tydings is perhaps best described as a Senator who normally has his tongue in both cheeks. He has a ramrod military bearing but a supple, legal, humorous mind, and he varied the mood of his indictment from savage grimness to burlesque. His imitation of

McCarthy's voice recalled FDR's famous "Fala" speech to the Teamsters. But the climax came later. Tydings had a five-foot pointer and eight big charts of blown-up quotations from McCarthy's preposterous speeches. These were put up in turn on a wooden frame for Senate inspection. Carried away by fury, real or assumed, Tydings at one point put every ounce of energy into his arm and brought his ruler down "whack" on one offending quotation. There was a crack like a pistol shot. It seemed to this columnist that it wrote a punctuation point to a chapter of hysteria such as America has rarely known.

Notes. This week's CIO-AFL "unity" meeting in Washington offers higher hopes of success than any previous one in the 15-year labor split. . . . Almost since the President's Council of Economic Advisers was created, it has pointed to steel as a major industrial bottleneck, and Truman was once roundly denounced for suggesting government stand-by steel plants. Now the steel industry proudly announces its own expansion program to be finished by 1952, which will be fine if Russia will wait that long. . . . The most important single piece of domestic legislation of the 81st Congress is the social-security expansion bill extending coverage to 10 million more persons. . . . Most infuriating editorial page coming to TRB these days is the London *New Statesman and Nation*, representing a left-wing faction of the Labour Party which still can't make up its mind between Moscow and Washington and appears to know little about either. . . . A Negro Army outfit has distinguished itself in Korea but it will not have the reward of an FEPC bill when it comes home; Judge Hastie has been confirmed as Federal Circuit Judge, highest judicial post ever held by a Negro. . . . The Lodge-Gossett constitutional amendment was defeated in the House on grounds of political expediency; we are going to have the archaic Electoral College until it creates some major crisis. . . . Congratulations to the 40 faculty members of the University of California who won their battle against signing the special "loyalty" oath. . . . The July 14 *Congressional Record* carries an invaluable 177-page summary of all lobbyists.

Washington

T. R. B.

CORRESPONDENCE

The Right to Privacy

SIR: I am writing in response to T. R. B.'s request for comment on Mr. Flamm's letter printed in the *New Republic* of July 24.

I am in wholehearted agreement with Mr. Flamm that the Congress should not have the right to force an individual to divulge his private political affiliations. The recriminations suffered even by the men who faithfully recited the "I am not now and never have been . . ." liturgy (Jessup, Lattimore, *et al.*) are reason enough for me to take a strong stand.

T. R. B. wants the Congress to have the power, but notes that this does not "justify excessive use of the power." The point is, that if the Congress has the power (as they do), they don't have to justify any amount or kind of use (as they don't).

Let the burden of excessive use fall on the individual. The individual should have the right to refuse to answer questions regarding political affiliations, but, as T. R. B. says of the utility worker's right to strike, "should hesitate to exercise it."

One of the most unfortunate results of the witch-hunting of today is that many liberals, even those who write for the *New Republic*, are beginning to speak and write in the esoteric language of the non-liberals. And T. R. B. isn't the only one guilty in this respect.

Bronx, N. Y. CLIFFORD H. GROSS

SIR: Your T. R. B. was most certainly wrong when he found one "outstanding liberal" against the right of a Congressional committee to make a man tell what his political opinions are. The man could not have been a Liberal. As I once had occasion to remind your editors, Heywood Broun defined a "Liberal" as one who walks out when the fighting begins. Such a one would never register himself publicly as opposed to anything a Congressional committee might ask a citizen. T. R. B. simply mistook his man. . . .

Nutley, N. J.

HERBERT WATSON

Mundt's Judgment

SIR: Some time ago, Senator Karl Mundt of South Dakota, in an attempt to disarm liberal opposition to his proposed Subversive Activities Control bill, declared that "not by the wildest stretch of imagination by an orderly mind could such groups as labor unions, so-called liberal groups, the Socialist Party of Norman Thomas, or other organizations advocating change by American methods, ever be affected" by his bill.

On July 9, however, speaking to a

group of doctors, dentists and pharmacists in Springfield, Illinois, Senator Mundt insisted that "Communism and Socialism are merely different stages of the disease."

If that were true, certainly the Socialist Party would not be exempt from the provisions of the Mundt bill. But it is not true. Such a charge is not only false but a dastardly libel, amply disproved by the gallant fight Socialists are waging against Communism throughout the world, and by the fact that wherever Communism rises to power, it immediately imprisons and executes all Socialist leaders.

In not a single country where Socialism has won power—as in the Scandinavian countries and in the British Commonwealth—has the right to vote, free speech, assembly and press ever been violated. And in none of these countries has Communism been able to make any headway.

Since Senator Mundt's judgment is, to put it charitably, so faulty, he certainly ought not be rewarded by passing a bill which is the opening wedge for totalitarian police repressions in this country.

HARRY FLEISCHMAN,

National Secretary,

New York City

Socialist Party, USA

Soviet and American Playwrights

SIR: The sheer numbers, performances and public acclaim of recent plays inside Russia (*cf.*, Ernest J. Simmons, the *NR*, July 17) should be the envy of Americans—especially since too many years ago Odets and Maxwell Anderson prematurely gave up the ghost. The lines, plots and take-off on Harry the Haberdasher which Simmons quotes sound good enough from here for this theatre-hungry writer to want to tear the curtains down. Where are the American (and West European) playwrights to poke such fun and savagery at Russia and the Commies? The plausible answer is that denizens of Western culture love tolerance too much to descend to such brutal propaganda and melodrama. But I suspect other reasons: perhaps most Western writers do not hate the Russki and Commies as much as they hate—yes—themselves (*cf.*, Dr. Bergler, the *NR*, June 19), and the rest may be either blacklisted, on trial or masochistically licking (*ibid.*, Bergler) their wounds.

O for some caustic American satire, melodrama and even tragedy and propaganda! . . . Let's have some good healthy convictions or illusions and write some *als ob* stuff. Let us even *imagine* like Falstaff, Othello, Lear and the Soviets that we have real enemies and proceed to exterminate them—at least on the stage. That might be catharsis for our writers, brass hats and others who hanker for a full-scale crusade. . . .

Chicago, Ill.

SIDNEY BLACKSTONE



PROFITEERS: THE REAL FIFTH COLUMN

A SMALL MINORITY of profiteers and price-gougers have made it necessary that we impose strict economic controls now. Since June 23, the last market trading day before the invasion of South Korea, prices have increased to a point where our military defense program will cost the government close to 10 percent more than it would have if prices had been frozen when the fighting began.

"Once again," Senator Wayne Morse (R, Ore.) has charged from the Senate floor, "great economic forces are collecting blood-money from the American people. . . . There is a uniform national pattern, a jiggling up of the price structure on some of the basic food commodities."

Both food and raw materials cost 15 percent more today than in mid-March. Materials for arms have risen the most: steel scrap by 44 percent; zinc, 47 percent; copper, 22 percent. The scare buying and hoarding of the last few weeks added to the higher cost of raw materials have sent retail prices to new highs. Experts of the Congressional Joint Economic Committee predict that, left unchecked, the general price index will advance at least another five percent to reach an all-time high by next January. Profits are already at an all-time high of \$21 billion annually, running at more than four times the pre-World War II rate of corporate profits after taxes.

The combination of peak profits and runaway prices makes it urgent for President Truman to come forward with his plans for controlling inflation immediately.

The President has already moved to relieve buying pressure by asking for power to curb installment purchases and by restricting government credit for new construction. A next step is to raise the Federal Reserve Board ratio to make it more difficult for banks to lend money. Business loans are expanding too fast, climbing from \$1.8 billion to an all-time high of \$4.5 billion just between the first and second quarters of this year, according to Federal Reserve Board figures.

To discourage businessmen from charging higher prices and to prevent the building up of bank deposits, larger basic corporate taxes and a tax on excess profits are needed. To discourage consumer buying in a tight market, an increase in personal income tax and some plan of forced savings are also essential. These two sources of added federal income together can easily raise \$10 billion more next year.

Much will depend upon the manner in which a new

excess-profits tax is levied. The best suggestion has come from Marriner Eccles, of the Federal Reserve Board, who offers a plan which would not freeze the abnormal wartime profits position as between industries.

In effect, Eccles would take 75 percent of all net earnings above 10 percent from companies earning \$5 million a year or less, and 75 percent of all net earnings above eight percent from companies earning more than \$5 million. Congressional spokesmen for big business have already suggested that the 1947-49 level of profits be taken as the base for figuring an excess-profits tax, to make the tax blow as light as possible. This would put an unfair share of the burden on small businesses whose earnings were steadily going down during that period while big business profits were still rising. The Eccles Plan, tax experts estimate, would yield \$5 to \$6 billion in revenue; about \$2 billion, at most, would be realized under the scheme that business is urging.

To stop the present buying spree—department-store sales last week were 24 percent above a year ago—individual taxes should be raised about 10 percent to the level which existed before the Republican tax cut of 1948. Even more of the steam needs to be taken out of the civilian economy to reduce the drive toward inflation. But it would be unfair to do so by means of any heavier taxes on the lowest-income families. A tremendous effort to sell government bonds to this group is already planned. A "forced-savings" system under which a certain percentage of all income would be taken out of circulation for the period of the inflation prices should be started at the same time. Only by some such drastic move can consumer demand be controlled promptly and substantially enough to hold the price line.

This kind of tax program is the first essential. But we must also be prepared to bring broad segments of the economy under price control as well. Perhaps 12 to 15 categories will need special regulation.

The key commodity prices probably could be stabilized simply by authorizing Secretary of Agriculture Brannan to move into the market to buy and sell his vast reserve of commodity props at his discretion as a counter speculation to Wall Street.

Effective controls of prices on essential imports which are open to speculation abroad will require international agreements on export prices. We should recommend creation of a United Nations price-control authority which

would be authorized to secure governmental agreement to control speculators in critical materials. The governments concerned could use import permits to prevent individuals from buying or selling strategic products at higher than fair prices established by the UN.

As basic protection, the President should be given stand-by power to order direct consumer controls—rationing and ceilings on prices and wages—as needed. Immediate granting of such authority might slow down speculation and a labor drive for wages to make up for profiteering. If higher wages which would force price increases are not to be allowed, labor will rightfully feel that there should be a “roll-back” of prices to June 25 in return. The mechanical difficulties involved in “rolling back” a price will probably decide the government against attempting it, however.

The key item in consumer price control will be meat. If the military takes huge quantities and the civilian demand continues to be heavy, meat will become as much of a problem as steel and shipping. The government could make a dramatic and effective beginning of consumer price control by taking over the entire meat supply and directing its use through a giant distribution cartel in which the packers would serve as agents of the government.

Economic controls of the magnitude we suggest will be far more difficult to secure from Congress than the controls over production previously asked. Freezing wages and prices and raising taxes are risky politics at any time, especially on the eve of a crucial election. The President has no alternative, however, but to pursue that policy.

THE WEEK

THE PRICE OF OUR MESSAGE

President Truman has issued an ultimatum to House and Senate leaders that before Congress adjourns or recesses this summer it must pass funds for the Point Four program to aid underdeveloped areas and for the greatly expanded Voice of America program. The psychological effect of these two measures on the rest of the world is a major factor in his appeal for immediate action. In a letter to House Speaker Sam Rayburn, the President said, “We will never attain real security until people everywhere recognize that the free nations of the world are the true seekers of permanent peace.”

The House Appropriations Committee is now considering the President’s \$89 million request for a “campaign of truth.” For the past two months the State Department has been working on the new program, laying out psychological objectives in 28 countries in the most critical areas of the world. About half of the \$89 million will be used for large-scale radio equipment which will enable the Voice to get into areas where it is now getting through inadequately or not at all.

By doubling current operations, the State Department intends to expand broadcasting facilities in this country and abroad, and increase the number of films, publications, bulletins and other services offered foreign countries. The

campaign of truth would include the establishment of more information centers and an exchange program of visitors with friendly nations. A long-range part of the program also includes money for overseas television stations throughout Europe and Asia.

Edward W. Barrett, Assistant Secretary of State in charge of the Voice program, said that the radio-facilities appropriation alone would be roughly \$41 million. He estimated that it would take two years to get the proposed new transmitters and other such equipment in full use. In the case of the Soviet Union itself and the Soviet satellites, the major transmission problem is to break through either constant or sporadic jamming. The most expensive part would be increasing the signal strength (1) for getting into the jammed areas and (2) for getting through to the remote areas that are now difficult to reach.

In much of the Far East today, Barrett revealed, the signal is not strong enough to be heard on cheap sets. In parts of the Near East and in the South-eastern European areas, the signal is too weak to penetrate bad atmospherics. There are those in the Department who are recommending that we provide free radio sets to the people who now have inadequate sets or none at all.

A United Nations survey recently showed that less than one percent of the 211 million people in the Soviet Union

were even potential listeners to the combined Voice of America and British Broadcasting Corporation programs. The survey said there are only 1.3 million regular radio sets in all of the USSR. There are 6.5 million “wired receivers” in Russia over which government-monitored and approved programs are piped through a loudspeaker into the listener’s home.

MORE “SECURITY”

Having just passed the “security-risk” bill, which takes away from government workers suspected of disloyalty the right of appeal before an impartial board (see the NR, July 17), the House last week passed the Hobbs bill to permit the Justice Department to jail deportable aliens. For 10 years, Representative Sam Hobbs (D, Ala.) has been trying to get action on his bill, but because of a question of its constitutionality both the House and the Senate until now have refused to dignify it with any consideration. Again in the name of national safety, the House passed the Hobbs bill by the same margin as it had passed the “security-risk” bill, 326 to 15.

The Hobbs bill purports to be aimed at criminal and subversive aliens who are awaiting deportation. It gives the Attorney General power to lock up such aliens and detain them at any place he chooses until such time as they are actu-

ally deported. Under the existing law, such aliens must either be sent home within six months after the warrant of deportation is issued or be released on a small bond. Proponents of the bill said that there are some 3,000 undesirable aliens roaming around the country now because the countries of their national origin refuse to receive them. Opponents of the bill pointed out that while the purposes are laudable, the procedure that is enunciated in the bill to carry out its provision is palpably unconstitutional.

Representative Emanuel Celler (D, N. Y.), chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, led the floor fight against the bill. In effect, he said, the bill provides that a group of so-called undesirable people have no rights. "That is not so," Celler asserted. "Even a man guilty of treason has rights, and the dope peddler or murderer has a right to trial by jury before he be imprisoned. He has rights enunciated in our Bill of Rights. If you imprison a person . . . the courts have held time and time again that this is punishment and it is punishment which cannot be inflicted unless there is a trial by jury, confrontation of witnesses, indictment by a grand jury, and all the other safeguards which are involved in the judicial process."

Celler used, as an example, the case of a dope peddler who has served his sentence after trial and conviction. But his country refuses to give him travel documents. "Under this bill the Attorney General would have the power to put him on Ellis Island. That is additional punishment. He can put him under bond, put him under surveillance, interrogate him as to his activities, cancel the bond, renew the bond, and, in addition, clap him into some stockade or concentration camp and keep him there. Now, that is imprisonment. You cannot imprison under the Constitution without a jury trial. . . ."

Moreover, Celler pointed out, a person would be subject to the provisions of the bill if he committed one of the enumerated offenses within a period of 10 years prior to the issuance of the warrant of deportation. A young person could commit an offense but lead an exemplary life throughout the subsequent years and still be detained or deported under the bill.

Representative Clare Hoffman (R, Mich.) recommended an even stronger measure to "lock these people up right off the bat without letting them run around." Celler: "I suppose the gentleman would wish to purge them, as Stalin does." Hoffman: "I would lock them up. I would convict them and keep them locked up." Celler: "And ape the activities of the Communist nations against which we inveigh?"

The 15 members who had the courage to vote against the measure were with few exceptions the same who opposed the "security-risk" bill. The measure is now pending in the Senate Judiciary subcommittee on immigration. Before the Senate hands such power to an Attorney General, who may some day be an arbitrary person, the warning of Justice Brandeis should be remembered: "The greatest danger to liberty lurks in the insidious encroachment of men of zeal, well meaning but without understanding."

A VOICE AGAINST RACISM

The Hitlerian doctrine that there are superior and inferior races has received a body blow. A distinguished group of experts, assembled by UNESCO, has reported after an exhaustive study that there are no inherent differences in character or intelligence between one race and another. Moreover, it is not true, as is so commonly believed, that "half-breeds," the offspring of racial mixture, are inferior. Other experts have said the same things in the past, but rarely if ever with such authority, and never with such facilities for world-wide publication of the findings.

The UNESCO report makes the comment that there are no intelligence tests which can distinguish fully between hereditary and environmental factors; but wherever the effects of environment can be minimized, people all seem to be very much

alike. Physically, there are three very broad divisions of the world's peoples: Mongol, Negro and Caucasian; but even these groupings shade off imperceptibly into one another. Because of this, the UNESCO Committee says that no nation or religion can properly be described as identical with any race; that "race" is largely a social myth; that the word should be abolished in favor of "ethnic group." It would be naïve to suppose that very many of those who believe in the Nazi doctrine of race difference will be impressed by the UNESCO findings; but this report will at least reassure those who have hoped and believed that such doctrines are false, but did not know where to turn for scientific support.

LAND OF PLENTY

Congress has finally admitted that drastic measures must be taken to handle the enormous surplus of perishable goods now stored by the Commodity Credit Corporation. Representative Harold D. Cooley (D, N. C.), chairman of the House Agriculture Committee, released a letter last week from Secretary of Agriculture Charles Brannan which confirmed the startling surpluses reported by the NR, July 17.

Brannan told Congress that the CCC now possesses "approximately one



pound of butter, two and one-half pounds of dried milk, almost half a pound of cheese and two dozen shell eggs (in dried form) for every man, woman, and child in the United States. None of these commodities has been allowed to spoil. However, such a fortunate condition cannot be expected to continue indefinitely."

The Secretary made it clear that the Brannan Plan, which Congress turned down last year, is not the answer to the immediate crisis but was "designed to prevent the accumulation of food stocks in the hands of the government and to direct the movement and distribution of maximum quantities of food through the normal channels of trade." Since Congress refused his measure, Brannan is now asking it to find a cure.

In effect, Brannan said that Congress had forced him to buy tremendous stocks of perishable commodities in order to maintain high farm prices, without furnishing him with any method of getting rid of them. To sell them on the world market at a discount of probably 50 percent would be "dumping" and would endanger our entire foreign trade program. The CCC has already given away all it can.

The letter knocked the props out from under Congressmen who were confident that the potato surplus was solved by the virtual removal of supports. Brannan predicted that next year's potato crop "may cost the CCC as much as \$75 million."

The House Agriculture Committee will consider remedies for this situation at its sessions on July 24-26. There will undoubtedly be a proposal to pay transportation costs of food to be given away in distress areas (such costs are little more than the cost of storage by the CCC). A food stamp plan may be proposed which would give low-income families free surplus food when they buy at a regular grocery store.

THE NAZIS COME BACK

It might as well be admitted that our program of instilling democracy into the inhabitants of the American zone in Germany is a pretty complete failure. Nazism is rising again in this area with a speed which proves that it had only temporarily gone underground. The Anti-Defamation League has recently

made a careful study of the facts, which reveals the following, among other things:

In Bavaria, where it was born, Nazism is openly espoused. Of 19 new political parties, 18 are reactionary nationalists, using Hitler's old arguments and slogans. One of their leaders is Ernst Remer, who was a general under Hitler. "It is not an uncommon sight today to see German nationalists, uniformed in jackboots and breeches, marching through the streets and singing 'Deutschland über Alles'." The Nazis win many local elections by votes of two to one. They have elected about 600 mayors in the recent past.

Although there are only 20,000 Jews left in Germany out of 600,000 when Hitler came to power, there is more anti-Semitism now than when he began his career. Some politicians have been elected on openly anti-Semitic platforms. Desecration of Jewish graveyards and synagogues is so common as to suggest organized activity.

A number of books about Hitler, lauding him as a hero, have been published and are selling widely. A book by his chief financial expert, Hjalmar Schacht, sold 300,000 copies before publication.

Whereas in 1945 only 40 percent of the Germans in the American zone were willing to admit, in public-opinion polls, that they favored Nazism, the proportion today is 55 percent.

Our policy of denazification was bungled about as completely as it could have been. We began by distributing questionnaires to the Germans inviting them to brand themselves as Nazis; and naturally, nobody did so if he thought he had any chance of lying out of it. Out of 13 million in our zone, there were 3.5 million whose guilt was plain, of whom three million were considered too minor to be worth attention. Of the remaining 500,000, just 500, or one-tenth of one percent, were found guilty—in a region where there had been 80,000 important Nazi officials. We set free such notorious leaders as Franz von Papen, Fritz Kuhn and Schacht. We also set free the Air Marshal who ordered the blitz on London, four concentration-camp supervisors and scores of other top leaders of Nazism. One SS general, who had been a judge of the infamous Nazi "People's Court,"

was not only let go, but was given more than 20,000 marks to pay for the time he spent waiting trial, and a pension of 15,000 marks a year!

The climate of opinion is so strongly pro-Nazi that thousands of democratic Germans have been ostracized, lost their jobs, or been beaten up, because of their political attitude.

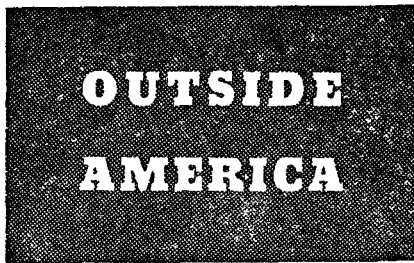
In the Bavarian schools, 12,000 teachers were dismissed in 1945 for Nazism. Today, 11,000 of them are back. An American who visited a classroom without advance warning heard the small pupils being taught their alphabet: "A is for Adolf . . . G is for Goebbels, H is for Hitler," and so on.

After the First World War, the Nazis spread the doctrine that Germany had not been defeated in the field, but had been sabotaged by Jewish treason from within. The same thing is going on today. At a meeting of the Deutsche Partei a few months ago, Wolfgang Hedler, one of its leaders, said:

Germany is least responsible for the Second World War. . . . It is the anti-Nazis who have brought about the present misery. . . . Germany did not break down from exhaustion but only on account of the treason and sabotage committed by the anti-Nazis. . . . Opinion may differ as to the advisability of the gassing extermination method. Perhaps there are other means of getting rid of the Jews.

When Hedler was arrested for talking this way, he was acquitted by a three-man court, two of whose members were admittedly former Nazi Party members. In Bavaria, 81 percent of the personnel of the Ministry of Justice are ex-Nazis. At one time, only 63 convicted Nazis were in prison in Bavaria, with more than twice that number of prison officials looking after them.

Why have we failed so completely in Germany? The Anti-Defamation League agrees with Delbert Clark, who says in his book, *Again the Goose Step*: "We have lost the fight in Germany through a combination of loose thinking, unenlightened self-interest, and postwar penny-pinching." Most important, of course, has been the impact of the cold war. We have been so busy building up Germany against Russia that we couldn't stop to find out whether the Germans we were using were actually on our side.



The Korean crisis was said by Secretary Acheson to have had as one of its most valuable and encouraging political by-products in Western Europe the convincing demonstration that the free nations of the Atlantic Community are dependably and equally united in a common and courageous determination to resist aggression anywhere in the world and at any price to themselves. This may have been a quite legitimate official interpretation of the fact that most of the governments of the Atlantic Pact nations gave prompt official approval to American military intervention in Korea.

But American blood has been shed and is being shed in Korea; and since the accurate appraisal of the dependability of the Atlantic Community has become a matter of vital importance to American national security, neither official gestures by Western European governments nor official American interpretations of them should be enough to satisfy American public opinion. It should therefore be known in America that the real value of the Korea crisis in terms of Western European attitudes (if it has any at all) has been to show which nations of the Atlantic Community can be depended upon as supports of America and also of democracy, and which had better be discounted.

Britain, for example, approved the American action in Korea both as a member of the United Nations and as a member of the Atlantic Community. It backed up its approval at once by ordering its armed forces to support the Americans. No effort was made to hide the great official and popular disquietude over the turn of events. Yet when the situation in Korea worsened rather than improved, the British stood firm. Party lines disappeared in the House of Commons when the time came for the representatives of the British people to stand up and be counted for or against taking great risks.

Italy, to take another example, ap-

proved the American action as a member of the Atlantic Community. There was no legal obligation to take the step—as it was taken—because Italy is not a member of the United Nations. Yet, the Italian government rushed forward with support—enthusiastically, without any reservations. Naturally, the step was taken over the opposition of the members of the parties which faithfully accepted the Moscow line that the aggression came from South, not North Korea. These are the Communist Party, the second largest in the country, and the Nenni Socialist Party, the largest of the several Socialist groups.

Less than two weeks after the Korean crisis began, the Italian Senate's Foreign Affairs Committee met to consider the news from the Far East. The Committee includes Communists, Socialists, and also Liberals and representatives of the MSI (Italian Social Movement—the new Fascist Party) who are not in the de Gasperi cabinet.

The news from Korea was not good from the American viewpoint; it had been getting worse for several days before the Committee met. The Communists and Socialists on the Committee called upon the government to withdraw its approval of the American action in Korea. That, of course, was no surprise.

But the MSI Fascists also spoke up against approval of American action, despite the fact that they—the most quickly growing party in the country—are the most extreme enemies of Russia and of Communism. The night before the Committee met, MSI Deputy Russo-Perez, who had openly supported the government, was beaten up by five young Fascist thugs; and he was called by the MSI National Directorate to change his stand or be expelled.

At the Committee meeting the members of the almost equally anti-Russian Liberal Party (which despite the name is conservative) called upon the government to attach strings to the approval of American policy. One order of the day, adopted by the Liberal Party's National Directorate, demanded that the government "carry out a policy of national reserve" which would assure Italy of "every possibility of direct initiative" to permit the use of the Korea situation to provide solutions of "those

Italian problems which are as yet unsolved." Another Liberal Party order of the day gave a fuller explanation of the suggested blackmail. It demanded that the government use the approval of American conduct in Korea as a lever to get "from the victorious nations the restoration of Italy's rights wherever they have been inequitably impaired." Editorials in various newspapers made plain that the price would include, among other things, Trieste and the African colonies.

If Acheson's interpretation of the common and dependable determination of *all* the Atlantic Pact nations were sound, it might have been expected that Count Carlo Sforza, Italy's Foreign Minister, would have indignantly spurned all these suggestions of blackmail. Instead, he made the statement at the end of the Committee's discussion that Italy did not intend to assume any obligations beyond those set forth in the Atlantic Pact. Italy, he implied, was delighted over American intervention in Asia, but would not herself intervene except, if really necessary, in the event of an attack in Europe. He did not mention at what price.

Premier de Gasperi made a statement deploring the attack on Russo-Perez by members of his own party, but he has remained silent about the steadily growing campaign of the MSI and fellow-traveling Fascists against men who, like Admiral Franco Maugeri, coöperated with the Americans in liberating Italy from the Fascists. (See "Outside America," the *NR*, July 3.) The theory behind his silence, as set forth privately to recent callers, was that "we cannot fight on two fronts—both the Communist and the Fascist." The effect of silence and its implication of consent is to build up as a weapon against the Communists a new Fascism so bitterly anti-American and anti-democratic that its leaders send out thugs to beat up a man who dared to approve American conduct in Korea.

If the Korean situation grows worse and America has to rely on the Atlantic Community, it would be wise for American public opinion to notice the difference between the Community's dependability on the English Channel and on the shores of the Mediterranean.

PERCY WINNER

"A FRAUD AND A HOAX"

Last week the Senate foreign-relations subcommittee that has patiently listened to Joe McCarthy's charges that 205 or 57 or 81 "card-carrying Communists" are employed in the State Department released a stinging and conclusive report. Signed by Senators Millard Tydings (D, Md.), Theodore Francis Green (D, R. I.) and Brien McMahon (D, Conn.), the report states that McCarthy's accusations are "a fraud and a hoax perpetrated on the Senate of the United States and the American people. They represent perhaps the most nefarious campaign of half-truths and untruth in the history of this Republic."

The report bluntly accuses McCarthy of using the totalitarian technique of the "big lie" in pressing pro-Communist charges against Owen Lattimore, Far Eastern specialist of Johns Hopkins; US Ambassador-at-Large Philip Jessup; and other State Department officials including John S. Service, John Carter Vincent, Haldore Hanson and Mrs. Esther Caukin Brunauer. The majority of the investigating committee found that neither the FBI nor McCarthy could present evidence of disloyalty in any of these cases.

The following are excerpts from the official answer to McCarthy's vicious slanders:

We find that the information presented to the Senate on February 20, 1950, by Senator McCarthy, concerning "81" individuals identified by him only by numbers, was a colored and distorted version of material developed by investigators of the House Appropriations Committee in 1947 during the 80th Congress.

To the extent that the information was colored and distorted and the source thereof concealed, the Senate was deceived. . . .

Our investigation establishes that the only logical reason for the Senator's noncoöperation and failure to supply further information was the fact that he had no information to supply. . . .

This subcommittee has been subjected to an organized campaign of unwarranted and unfair vilification without parallel in the history of Congressional investigations. This vilification included repeated charges that we were attempting to "whitewash" the State and Justice Departments. . . .

We have found that the complaint of Senator McCarthy concerning disloyalty in the State Department, which precipitated our investigation, is false, and have fully assured ourselves that the existing agencies and facilities for meeting the problem of security are doing their jobs efficiently and conscientiously. Having made this finding on the basis of the evidence before us, the

suggestion that we continue further to "investigate" in the abstract becomes absurd. . . .

We feel that one of the most reprehensible aspects and unfortunate results of unwarranted charges of the type made in this matter is the actual injury done to the true fight against Communism. Such charges, being unproved and not subject to proof, have the effect of dulling the awareness of our people to the menace of Communism, unnecessarily embarrass and expose the methods and techniques of our Intelligence agencies charged with protecting our security, interfere with and compromise their confidential investigations, destroy the effectiveness of confidential informants, and inevitably give basis for ridicule of those who fight Communism with truth, the only weapon with which it can be destroyed.

At a time when American blood is again being shed to preserve our dream of freedom, we are constrained fearlessly and frankly to call the charges, and the methods employed to give them ostensible validity, what they truly are: a fraud and a hoax perpetrated on the Senate of the United States and the American people. They represent perhaps the most nefarious campaign of half-truths and untruth in the history of this Republic. For the first time in our history, we have seen the totalitarian technique of the "big lie" employed on a sustained basis. The result has been to confuse and divide the American people, at a time when they should be strong in their unity, to a degree far beyond the hopes of the Communists themselves, whose stock in trade is confusion and division. In such a disillusioning setting, we appreciate as never before our Bill of Rights, a free press and the heritage of freedom that has made this Nation great. . . .

To restore public confidence in the loyalty of government employees, the Committee recommends:

¶ *That the President appoint a special 12-man commission to study the government's loyalty program and determine "its adequacy to meet the requirements of security at this critical juncture in our international relations."*

¶ *That a joint House and Senate Committee be appointed to make a careful study of the immunity law which protects members of Congress from civil suits for what they say on the floor of the Senate or before Congressional committees "to insure that it does not become a shield to perpetuate injustice and fraud."*

¶ *That all committees of Congress exercise the "utmost restraint in conducting public hearings relative to proceedings involving questions of loyalty. . . ."*

THE UNITED NATIONS—IN KOREA AND LATER

BY THE LIGHT of the bloody fire spread through the ricefields of Korea, people all over the world are taking a new look at the United Nations. Many a scoffer has found that there is merit in the organization, and many a skeptic has learned that the United Nations can indeed rally peoples behind a good cause.

by Peter Kihss

But the cause of the United Nations, even now, more than five years after San Francisco, is only at its beginning—like the warfare in Korea. The fight is going to be a long one, a fight that cannot be given up. Yet there is more hope for the United Nations today, and there is more hope for Korea and the other imperiled areas of the world, than there was before the Communist tanks trampled down the barriers of the 38th Parallel.

For now blood is being spilled in the name of the UN, and sometimes man learns from his agonies. Out of the agonies of World War II, a United Nations was born. In the peace that was no peace, the UN was too often left to languish. Too often the UN ran into difficulties, and too often it stopped. Today, perhaps, in a new ordeal, men may start asking why—and may start doing better.

But there is no guarantee.

The trouble with the UN has been only partly the fault of the Russians. In fact, the presence of the Russians has even been helpful. In the UN, there was at least the knowledge of what appeals the Russians felt most attracted the rest of the world. There was always the chance to answer the Russians and to offer better appeals. The UN provided an arena of peaceful competition.

In that competition, the United States did not do too badly. Over and over again, controversial United States policies—in Korea, in Trieste, in Berlin, on the Marshall Plan, on atomic energy—ran the international gantlet and emerged with majority endorsement. It was the Russians who, beginning last January, took themselves out of that direct UN competition, and in effect started carrying out the plan of former President Herbert Hoover—a UN without Russians.

But what then? Where did the UN, without Russians, go? The ills of the UN only increased. The deadlocks only hardened. The atomic-control negotiators gave up working. The Security Council took three months to name a Kashmir mediator. The Little Assembly heard Nationalist China present its complaint of Soviet treaty

violations and its plea for UN observers—and went into hiding. The

Trusteeship Council drafted an academic statute on internationalizing Jerusalem—and dropped it. The Economic and Social Council marked time and postponed most major issues. And even the UN agencies, on workaday jobs, ran into economizing troubles.

The fault was a fundamental one—with or without the Russians. It was lack of leadership, of willingness to use the UN, of minds put to the problems of the UN to seek solutions.

The case of Korea illustrates United Nations opportunities—and United Nations omissions. Three years ago the United States invoked UN aid, and the opinion of mankind, when it failed to agree with the Russians directly on unifying Korea, which had been split by Soviet and American occupation forces on the surrender of Japan. The UN set up a nine-nation commission—which the Soviet Ukraine member proceeded to boycott—to observe elections aimed at establishing a national constituent assembly. The commission tried, but could only fulfill that assignment in American-occupied Southern Korea.

The commission reported back to the 1948 General Assembly that free elections had taken place in Southern Korea, but warned that civil strife would eventually break loose in the country if the North-South division continued. The Assembly endorsed formation of the Republic of Korea in Seoul; the Security Council voted to recommend that government's admission to the UN—only to run into a 1949 Soviet veto.

A new seven-nation commission kept watch, reauthorized by the 1949 Assembly and broadened to "observe and report any developments which might lead to or otherwise involve military conflict in Korea" and to lend its good offices positively for unification. The commissioners warned the Southern Korean regime that it was treading dangerous ground itself in its relations with its own people by arresting newspapermen and independents and by suspending opposition publications. Economists of the UN Commission for Asia and the Far East warned the South Korean government that its economic policies were incurring grave risks of inflation.

The Southern Korean government did try to mend its ways. The budget was balanced, currency in circulation was cut down and land reforms were launched. Elections held last May under UN observation were free and full, and a majority of the new Southern Korean Assembly—130 out of 210—com-

Peter Kihss has covered the United Nations for the New York Herald Tribune over the past four years. He joined the Herald Tribune staff in 1943 after 10 years of newspaper work in Latin America, Washington and New York.

prised independents, instead of government supporters. The Northern Korean regime, meantime, repeatedly rejected UN Commission proffers of coöperation for peaceful unification and even a Northern-suggested exchange of political prisoners.

The Southern Korean course was always under UN scrutiny in that time. As late as June 24, UN field observers reported a check of military forces along the 38th Parallel. They found South Korea's army "organized entirely for defense and in no condition to carry out attack on large scale against forces of North," with no massing of troops and no armor, air support or heavy artillery. Northern Korean forces, they reported, had taken over salients south of the border, in one case fairly recently, while infiltrating guerrillas now had demolition equipment and were "more heavily armed than on previous occasions." Reports from the North, they went on, indicated the North Koreans had recently removed civilians from their border areas to depths of two and a half to five miles.

When the Red dawn invasion of June 25 broke loose, there was an immediate UN Commission report of the aggression. Seven nations' commissioners cabled back the facts at once. Swiftly they warned that the North Korean blitz might make mere withdrawal pleas by the Security Council academic. North Korea, they said, was "carrying out a well-planned, concerted and full-scale invasion," while South Korea had had its forces "deployed on wholly defensive basis in all sectors of parallel" and had been "taken completely by surprise."

The UN Security Council, therefore, did not need to delay in making up the minds of at least nine of its members—except for Communist Yugoslavia—that the North Koreans had attacked and that the situation was serious, and in calling upon UN members to render every assistance to the UN cause.

The UN had always had a chance to get the Korean facts. That its members—the United States among them—failed to meet the threat behind those facts is another matter. Southern Korea's army was not prepared to defend itself against mechanized invasion, despite the forebodings. United States forces, with advisory military commitments and moral pledges, were not prepared for immediately effective action.

UN military forces were not only unprepared—they were not yet in existence under either the Charter Article 43 plan for earmarked national contingents or any substitute. UN reactions against aggression had been reduced, over the years, principally to conciliation. Before Korea there had been military decisions in such UN cases as Hyderabad, Palestine and Indonesia—sometimes with UN glosses later.

Suddenly the UN found itself faced with Korean warfare—and once again forced to improvise. But this time,

it declined to accept a military putsch and subsequent polish. The United States roused up and declared itself against repeating the perilous paths of Mukden and Munich. This time, an international organization, the United Nations, rallied 47 member nations behind military sanctions against aggression in Korea.

Now it is a military decision. But now, too, it must be a UN decision, and not simply a United States decision. Politically, the more the UN gets into the Korean picture, the better. The UN one-world flag, with its wreathed olive branches of peace, flies over the men fighting for South Korea. But those forces are still very heavily American—and colonial and white men's forces, too, in a continent where the white man has not made himself beloved.

One answer, even in the present military turmoil, should be to recruit all the nationalities possible to fight in this UN Korean cause. Those who fight side by side may go on to work side by side. In World War II, there was little side-by-side fighting of Western forces and Russians.

The UN could call for volunteers for an international legion—of the kind that so dramatized the fight for Loyalist Spain that Franco's regime has not yet been able to complete its Axis-abetted military success by moving out into full-fledged international company.

In each country, a government might contribute battalions or platoons for Korea from its own forces, or might call for volunteers for special UN contingents. Militarily, they might not be of immediate major value. Morally, the gain would be enormous.

For the future, given the hoped-for victory in Korea, they might become standby UN forces under the charter article which sets forth the right of military individual or collective self-defense—even if the original scheme of Article 43 agreements for earmarked national contingents never does come into being.

More than that, the UN must plan out its Korean aims—now and clearly. It must decide whether its forces are to fight back to the 38th Parallel and then simply restore the pre-fighting status quo of a split country, a country across whose borders guerrillas might still raid—as they did so long across Greece's northern frontiers.

It would seem sounder to decide now to press for a unified Korea and to drive on to a situation where the UN might occupy the entire country, and then have supervised free elections. The UN should be setting up organs planning for that Korean future—and in that political field, it could draw heavily on its Asiatic and Far Eastern leaders, men who have faced similar problems and similar peoples in their own countries.

A revitalized UN might go on to put its mind earnestly to more than just the Korean problem. What the

UN needs is to do something about its difficulties. Deadlocks need not forever be road blocks. When motorists encounter obstacles, they take a detour. They rarely park their cars and just give up the trip.

The Security Council has found itself able to work with the Soviet veto power absent. Nations could still bind themselves to act on Security Council majority resolutions in future cases—even if a single great power casts a veto. There is enough flexibility in the UN charter to provide collective agreements of many kinds. Such measures might alter the original concept of the charter—but a living organization is one that grows and adapts itself to new conditions.

There are many roads to peace. There are problems that are immediate, and problems that are long-range. There must be UN movement on many fronts, and there must be many UN ideas. Consider a few of the problems:

¶ China, whatever else may be said, is a political sore today. China's civil war might easily spill over into Korea, into Formosa Strait with its Seventh United States Fleet, into Indo-China. Charges and counter-charges would then boil up. At least the UN could now post observers around China's borders to know the facts—and maybe help contain the troubles.

¶ China's peoples are suffering from new famine. So says the UN Food and Agriculture Organization, among others. Why couldn't the UN offer relief for the peoples of China? The UN International Children's Emergency Fund had begun token feeding in a coastal China nutrition project; the fund has carried on mass relief feeding in war-devastated Europe. UN food would let China's people know there was international help and interest in their plight—something they could count on besides Soviet or, for that matter, American intervention.

¶ The world has many trouble spots. Greece fears new strife from 12,000 guerrillas on its northern borders in Albania and Bulgaria. Yugoslavia fears massed Bulgarian and Hungarian forces. The Middle East seethes with charges of aggressive plans. Iran fears Soviet instigation of rebellious elements. Pakistan and Afghanistan quarrel over a turbulent border area. UN observers should certainly be kept on in Greece and Palestine, and perhaps in other countries. Along with the observers should be mediators, always pressing for some positive solutions.

¶ The UN has left too many sores to fester. It is time for the UN either to agree on a Free Territory governor in Trieste, or formally to rescind its Security Council approval of that plan and move on to something like partition or condominium. It is time to give up resolutions for internationalizing Jerusalem when no nations enforce them, and go on to work out at least

some minimums like religious guarantees and economic accords. It is time not just to finance relief for Palestine refugees, bred by UN's past sins, but to resettle those peoples.

¶ The UN may yet be invoked for other problems simmering around the world, to make possible solutions or at least inform the moral opinion of mankind. German, Austrian and Japanese peace treaties might all be referred to the Assembly for recommendation or even decision, as was done with the former Italian colonies.

¶ The UN should take in as many nations as possible. The charter could be reinterpreted to admit all governments that govern, including both the Soviet-vetoed states and the Cominform states now blocked by the Security Council's majority. This, as John Foster Dulles's *War or Peace* argues, would reflect the world as it is, at any rate.

If the Soviets return, all applicants could be duly voted in—and more UN ideas might then get behind the present-day curtains of Albania, Bulgaria, Hungary and Rumania. If the Cominform countries stay out, at least other applicants could be voted in. If the East-West split still thwarts Council votes, the Assembly could admit countries to some special status, enabling them to participate in most UN works. In China, the Communist regime has still to demonstrate effective control over areas now overrun by guerrillas, not to mention Formosa; it might be possible to suspend any Chinese membership until the situation stabilizes. In Spain, UN bars on Franco's regime may yet be lifted by Latin Americans and their allies—but the UN might save face in advance by promoting some previous *démarche* to obtain preliminary pledges for reforms like freedom of the press, elections, and political opposition.

¶ Atomic energy is a UN opportunity, with or without control of atomic weapons. The UN could be exploring the atom's peaceful promise. Since 1946, the Economic and Social Council has been studying a plan for UN research laboratories. The UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization has now started planning for regional laboratories, supported by nations' voluntary contributions. The UN might well enlist scientists of many nations to work with the radioactive materials that are the current great peaceful gain from atomic energy. UN laboratories could strive to crack such riddles as the process of photosynthesis, by which plants turn solar energy into forms usable to man, or the causes and cure of many diseases. The UN could help channel radioisotopes around the world for peaceful uses, as the World Health Organization now helps distribute American radioisotopes to Latin America. It could regularly publish detailed re-

ports on atomic research for peace; up to now it has simply tabulated 25,000 papers in a bibliography.

¶ One of the great challenges of the world today is the demand for better living standards. The problem is to show peoples how to help themselves—through Truman's Point Four program and the UN's expanded technical-assistance program. For months, both programs have been held up by United States legislative delays. Yet there is no reason why other brains and resources—European, Latin, Australasian—should not push on with UN work in this crusade, their cause as well as America's. The UN, faced with difficulties in fulfillment of national pledges, might strive to pool brains and funds of the world's major non-governmental organizations to bolster its technical work. It has already admitted non-governmental groups to Economic and Social Council consultative status—why not make them operatives as well?

¶ The UN has already gone far in hearing petitions

from peoples deeming themselves wronged under its trusteeship system, and it has set standards for peoples everywhere in its Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Instead of seeking an embracing legal covenant, likely to win few or no ratifications, it might now plug harder at specific problems like promoting the flow of information, teaching men to read and write, eradicating slavery, protecting refugees and easing migration for jobs.

With or without Russians, the UN has opportunities. With or without Russians, it needs minds and men to meet world problems. It would be better to have the Russians in and helping. The Russians may well come in if and when the UN improves its workings. The Russians may come back to coöperate or to block. True collaboration would be to Russian interest as to the interest of all other peoples. But in any event, the UN can work and should.

Not only in Korea but later.

ISRAEL AFTER TWO YEARS

WHAT MANNER of republic have the Israelis achieved in their first two years? Are they fulfilling that high ideal of a pioneer democracy which Ben-Gurion set forth as he read the Declaration of Independence on the fateful evening of May 14, 1948?

by **Lewis S. Feuer**

The atomic anxiety is singularly absent in Israel. The people are concerned with problems of the standard of living, immigration, construction, and peace with the Arabs. Yet on further scrutiny it becomes clear that the cold war between the Soviet Union and the United States has cast its shadow upon Israel, too. In Israel, it takes the specific form of a conflict between liberal socialism and Marxism which polarizes political life so that those who actually have much in common multiply, manufacture and magnify differences. The job of pioneering suffers.

Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion is the leader of Mapai, the Israel Workers' Party. His government is based on a coalition between his own party and the religious orthodox groups. Mapai is a moderate Socialist party similar to British Labour, and its 46 members make it the most considerable voice in the country's Parliament of 120. A union between Mapai and the left-wing labor party, Mapam, would give the country a comfortable Socialist majority. Such a union would seem to be natural and in the people's interest. Both groups

coöperate in the trade-union committees of Histadrut. But Mapam tries at

times to be more Cominform than the Cominform, much to the annoyance of many of its members. It has essayed the task of wedding Zionism to Marxism, and it tries to combine loyalty to Zhdanov's decrees on art and science with its own democratic Jewish heritage.

Mapam's 19 representatives are committed to accept the Soviet viewpoint on the Marshall Plan. They therefore charge that the \$100 million loan of the US Export-Import Bank to Israel is being used to impose political conditions. There is no evidence that this is the case. Treasury officials described to me how they processed their requests for \$35 million for agricultural development, \$20 million for industries, \$5 million for communications, \$4 million for harbor works, \$6 million for vehicles. Occasionally the Americans advised them on the productivity of a proposed project. It takes high-powered doctrinaire spectacles to interpret these loans as American economic enslavement of Israel. Nor has Mapam been able to propose any realistic alternative for financing the capital investment which is required to sustain the great immigration wave.

There is, however, a type of unofficial political pressure which emanates primarily from timid American Zionists. When a film on the life of a collective settlement was being made recently, the American director insisted that the red flag of the *kibbutz* be removed from sight in deference to possible donors. Such pressure, rather than any acts of United States policy, lends

Lewis S. Feuer, Associate Professor of Philosophy at Vassar College and a frequent contributor to the New Republic, revisited Israel recently on a Research Faculty Fellowship.

support to Mapam's fears for its socialist way of life.

The struggle between the two labor parties has been especially sharp in matters concerning national defense. Mapam wished to keep alive the Palmach, the socialist militia of the collective settlements, which had fought with great heroism during the critical days of 1948. The government, however, desires a centralized army on conventional lines, and opposes any military formation with an ideological commitment. The Palmach is now an alumni association of Socialist soldiers.

Ben-Gurion's party rejects a coalition with Mapam because it feels that the latter's pro-Soviet orientation would finally reduce Israel to a satellite state. Mapai finds itself, therefore, in an uneasy alliance with religious orthodoxy, with consequences that are damaging to the ultimate task of Zionist construction. Hitherto, Israel's human material has been drawn from migrations of secular, scientific and socialist-minded men from Eastern Europe especially. Whole communities of Yemenite, Moroccan, Tunisian and Egyptian Jews, even Jews from India and Afghanistan, make up the majority of the newly arrived contingents. The newcomers are often separated from modern Israel by a cultural gap of 2,000 years.

Jewish clericalism, until recently an unimportant segment in Israeli life, has the prospect of several hundred thousand recruits. Israel's principle of equality remains likewise contaminated with an orthodox code which compares with the Nuremberg Laws in its refusal to recognize the legality of marriage between Jew and Gentile. And on Saturdays the population is immobilized by the Talmudic Puritan restrictions. The buses don't run, the theatres are closed. The workman can't get out to the country or to the hills on his one holiday; the farmer can't visit his town friends. The left-wing communal farmers resent the monopoly that the rabbis have on the marriage ceremony. Israeli social democracy has allowed itself to be browbeaten by a handful of clerics who might reread Isaiah and Amos to refresh their understanding of religion.

It was an act of loyalty and courage on the part of the Jewish Agency to undertake to promote an Oriental wave of immigration, but there is also no doubt that the social unity of the land has been impaired. The coalescing of the European and Oriental Jews into Israelis will be an arduous process. The Tunisian women, who live with families of nine and ten in tents at Beersheba, told me: "They don't like us Africans. They call us black, they put us in tents. When Europeans come, they get houses in a week. We wait, and finally we get a house which isn't fit for chickens." With the new immigration and the country's postwar atmosphere, there has come an increase in criminality and immorality. Offences against morals have risen from 71 in 1947 to 258 in 1949.

No nation has ever undertaken to finance so huge a proportionate entry of immigrants as has Israel. There were about 650,000 Jews in the country when the state was born. Now there are 1,050,000. Imagine a comparable immigration of 90 million persons into the United States.

The government could have adopted a policy of selective immigration, and avoided the task of transforming broken, submerged creatures into a modern, free citizenry. Military and political motives in large part were responsible for the decision to promote an unrestricted immigration to people the wasteland and abandoned Arab villages immediately. But there was also an act of faith, a belief in the potentialities of the human spirit and its redemption. Land can be reclaimed with love and wisdom. Cannot one hope to redeem human beings whose souls have been wasted by persecution? The mores of the Oriental Jews are being transformed. To eradicate the practice of child marriage, a law has been enacted which forbids girls to marry before the age of sixteen. Prosecutions for bigamy have been instituted. Eighty thousand immigrants are still in the reception camps, leading tedious, workless lives in hot, crowded tents. But there they have also learned what it is to sleep on beds, to use handkerchiefs, to give their children baths. The Yemenites refuse to eat in communal dining halls; they prefer to line up for food to take home to their tents. But they have an adequate diet for the first time and their young have learned the taste of cow's milk. Schools are being established, and the immigrants' children are taking their places with Israel's 181,000 pupils. The children learn to read and speak Hebrew, they learn something of the world and its peoples, something of science. In turn, they teach their parents.

I watched the town of Beersheba rising on the Negev border, and I asked the economic director what would follow afterward in the way of industries. His answer was vague. The people seem to hope for an economic miracle. Israel, they say, was built in violation of the laws of economics. Its very existence is a military and political miracle. So they look for some economic manna to come forth from the Negev as once it did in the Sinai Desert.

Movements of immigration in the world's history have generally followed the path of investment opportunities. Israel has reversed this procedure, and is seeking investments to provide the industrial base for its newly acquired population. The country has an unfavorable balance of trade: last year it imported £87 million of goods, and exported only £10.6 million worth. This gap must be closed if Israel is to be a self-supporting economy. Thus far, however, the entry of investment capital has been disappointing, only £8 million of new investments has been forthcoming since the state was established.

Forty enterprises, mostly partnerships between local and foreign interests, have been founded in a variety of light manufacturers' and consumers' goods industries. Much hope is placed on such ventures as the Kaiser-Frazer plant which is projected for the assembly of cars, and the General Tire and Rubber Company's factory. But these developments will require a labor force of only a few hundred. Mindful of this problem, the government enacted recently a Capital Investment Law which is designed to make Israel more attractive to private investors. Taxes on the income of new enterprises are limited to a maximum of 25 percent and a considerable part of the profits may be transferred abroad.

The conflict between economic classes has grown more severe. The business interests have tried to blame the collective agricultural settlements for much of Israel's economic difficulties. One leading industrialist, owner of large cigarette and soda factories, said that the standard of living of the collectives was much too high. They'd have to lower the prices of their crops in order to make a reduction of industrial wages possible. The Manufacturers Association complains that the socialist settlements are pampered with import licenses which are denied to private enterprise. As a matter of fact, the living standard for the communal settlements is generally higher than that of the townspeople. On the *kibbutzim*, I ate a varied diet of meat, vegetables and dairy products. In the towns, "austerity" keeps the population to a diet almost exclusively of fish, imitation sausages and a few vegetables. The Israeli workman is much worse fed than his French, Italian or German counterpart.

The kibbutzim, it must be emphasized, remain the mainstay of Israeli pioneer idealism. The 70,000 people who live in the 170 communal settlements are at once creating a democratic, coöperative way of life and reviving the soil. The *kibbutzim* have been unable, however, to expand proportionately to the country's growth in population. The newcomers have no background of socialist philosophy. They have had their fill of camps, and want a "normal" proletarian or bourgeois life. To meet this resistance, the *kibbutzim* are experimenting with a companionate arrangement. Immigrants are invited to work and participate in the life of a communal settlement for one year. If they then choose to leave, they collect their year's wages, and depart. It is hoped that many newcomers will become attached to *kibbutz* life.

The prosperity of the communal settlements is not founded on a solid economic substratum. Their costs of production on commodities varying from potatoes to fish are uniformly higher than European costs and world market prices. Protectionist policies are justified because Israel desires a large body of farmers, but the high price of foodstuffs does impose a burden on industry.

The Ministry of Agriculture has plans for expansion which it hopes will lead to a lowering of national costs: three million new grapevine plants, one million new citrus trees, during the next four years. The area under cultivation by Jews in 1950 will be three times what it was two years ago. And the government has succeeded in lowering the cost-of-living index this year by 15 percent.

Nevertheless, the future of Israel will probably see more modest economic targets. A few years ago, the Lowdermilk Plan for a Jordan Valley Authority held forth the promise of a new era for Palestine. Experts now are doubtful whether the waters of the Jordan are plentiful enough for so big an irrigation scheme. They are willing to accept the reduced levels of aspiration of a "skimmed Lowdermilk plan." Industry will likewise have to come to terms with the country's economic disadvantages. Where it was once hoped, for instance, that Israel could develop a film industry akin to the Italian, it is now realized that the country's small number of movie theatres imposes an undeniably limiting factor on the development of feature film production. And agricultural experts must wrestle with the fact that Israel's orange exports have this year gone down to five million cases from a previous high of 15 million.

The new Israel tends to be nationalistic, but non-Zionist. The new immigrants have not come for ideological reasons. The younger generation says mockingly, "Don't talk Zionism to me." The elder statesmen who rule the country learned their politics in an atmosphere affected by the ideals of the Russian revolutionary movement. They are men of the second and third immigrations, and the glow of their youthful idealism is with them in their old age. But when this generation goes, Israel will face a spiritual crisis. From its own moral resources it must overcome the mixture of inferiority-superiority feelings which are behind the tendency to exclusive nationalism. Then, too, Israel must achieve the solvency which alone will free its people from the jealousy and resentment which, as economic dependents, they bear toward American Jewry.

We shall not deny the inevitable gulf between Zionist ideology and Israeli reality. But we live in an era in which it is enough to achieve partial solutions to problems of people's relations. When I saw the gas chambers of Dachau, and the mass grave of 350,000 men, women and children, I could summon up only the memory of the new villages that are arising in the sun-baked, brown valleys of the Emek and the Negev. And for the practical, progressive world, there is the universal significance which Israel has acquired as a pilot plant for the redemption of submarginal land and backward peoples. Look at Israel, and you see what it means when you try to bring Point Four to earth.

HAROLD L. ICKES: Once More We Fight for Time

AS THIS IS WRITTEN, American forces in Korea are being pushed farther and farther back. The North Koreans were well supplied with superior armament by the Russians and their timing could hardly have been better. We were caught without arms or men in South Korea, and with our State Department apparently sound asleep and not knowing what to do or say when the rude awakening came. We will be fortunate if we can get enough men and equipment into Korea to defeat the evident purpose of the North Koreans to crowd us onto a beachhead with the sea at our backs.

Unfortunately, we do not know when Russia may touch off another incident in Indo-China or Iran, in Formosa or Yugoslavia. The "total diplomacy" policy of our Secretary of State is a large order. One might almost imagine that we ventured into Korea so late and with so little in order to demonstrate to the world how clever we are in executing a "delaying action."

The corrupt police state of South Korea is a synthetic creation of American diplomats and military minds. To this artificially begotten country, we pledged our support. To make good on our pledge, we withdrew our troops, excepting only a few officers to teach the South Koreans to fight. Russia, also, recalled its troops from North Korea, but not before building up an army that has shown that it knows how to fight. Russia supplied weapons that seem to be superior, at least in certain categories, to what we have given to the South Koreans.

In further proof of our determination to buttress South Korea, we also deprived it of our own inferior tanks and fighting planes, while withholding badly-needed heavy artillery. However, our military savants declared that South Korea could defend itself against North Korea without asking for military support. We continued to talk about "total diplomacy" and "containment of Communism." We did a lot of talking while Russia set to work quietly to turn out more powerful tanks and artillery that, to date, appear far better than anything that the "best technical brains in the world" have been able to devise.

Fully prepared, the North Koreans struck at South Korea in force and with devastating effect. Seoul fell. The South Korean army that our military experts had insisted would be able to defend itself fled before the terrifying Russian tanks. Almost before shocked America realized what was happening, the Communists had pushed ever farther south despite the resistance of troops hastily sent by MacArthur from Japan. American soldiers fought as well as brave men can fight who are neither well trained, well equipped nor supported adequately by tanks, heavy artillery and combat planes.

We found ourselves fighting "delaying actions" because the State Department had changed its mind about defending South Korea. Earlier, the State Department had wisely announced that to hold South Korea would not be a necessary part of our policy of containment of Communism in the Far East. If General MacArthur, in supreme command in the far Pacific, knew how weak in defense South Korea was, as he should have known, he apparently did nothing about it. With the South Koreans in retreat, we found ourselves without means of effective support. The futility of trying to hold back the North Koreans with bare hands soon became evident. MacArthur was forced to call upon far-away America for soldiers and marines, for tanks and heavy artillery. As for stopping the greatly superior Russian tanks, we have super-bazookas capable of doing this. But they are not yet in full production and most of those we have are reported to be in Europe.

American eyes may not be able to penetrate the iron curtain which shuts out from even our own view technological advances of which we are wont to claim a monopoly. Our Intelligence was not able to see what was happening in North Korea, either. From the master mind of General MacArthur's chief of espionage, General Charles A. Willoughby, who went to spy out the land in Korea only a few days before the invasion, there emanated another reassuring statement as to the peaceful prospects there. About the same time American military men persuaded John Foster Dulles that all was well. One cannot blame Mr. Dulles for being credulous. After all, he is not skilled in war or espionage.

It was bad enough for those charged with responsibility to be as blind as bats in Korea. It has been much worse for the people not to be able to comprehend what has been happening in General MacArthur's headquarters at Tokyo or in the Departments of State and Defense in our own national capital. Apparently, we were pushed off, before we were ready, into an adventure that is dangerous and which may lead us into even more serious enterprises. Of course, we must fight determinedly to drive the North Koreans back. Every American is patriotically supporting the policy of his Commander-in-Chief so far as Korea is concerned. But before we become involved in any more warlike excursions we should take an inventory of what we possess in the way of diplomatic and military strengths and weaknesses. We must not again precipitate ourselves into a booby trap from which we may find it necessary to beat another precipitate "strategic retreat."

HAROLD L. ICKES

BOOKS IN REVIEW

THE HERO AND THE ANGEL: A KENTUCKY TRAGEDY

IN 1939, Robert Penn Warren published his first novel, *Night Rider*. It was the story, based in part on history, of a reign of terror that befell Kentucky at the last turn of the century when the tobacco growers attempted to organize themselves into a body that might force fair prices from the powerful out-of-state buyers. The book is melodramatic with burning warehouses, the execution of traitors and the passage of masked horsemen, but overriding

WORLD ENOUGH AND TIME, by Robert Penn Warren (Random House; \$3.50).

this physical violence is the emotional struggle of the hero, whose tragedy lies in the fact that his spirit operates in a realm of moral absolutes inaccessible to his own intelligence and not even suspected by his fellows.

Now, more than ten years later, Warren gives us *World Enough and Time*, a richer and more searching novel, also based on an episode from the lore of Kentucky and also dominated by a hero tortured by devotion to uncompromisable idealism. The parallels, of tone, of character and of narrative detail, between the two novels are so striking that it is possible to assume that Warren has undertaken in his maturity to develop in its ultimate form a sketch set down in his apprenticeship. *World Enough and Time* is the reconstruction of a famous scandal of 125 years ago that is known as the Kentucky Tragedy. The story has been told before—by Poe among others—but never with the wealth of contemporary documentation Warren works into his novel. A poet, a novelist and a teacher, Warren is also obviously an antiquarian who savors with delight the sharp human flavor of old, forgotten files. But despite the care with which he has constructed his narrative from original sources, it would be a mistake to suppose that the author has put his talents at the service of history. In the first place, he chose from the past a fragment that again served his purpose and,

by Robert Hatch

in the second place, he develops it along the emotional lines that express his understanding of moral tragedy. *Night Rider*, set in another generation and with a different groundwork of facts but developing the same tragedy in slighter form, is proof that Warren directs the performance.

On the title page of *World Enough and Time* is printed "a romantic novel." The phrase has been worn so smooth in publishing commerce that the mind almost fails to record it, but Warren means it to be noticed and to be understood in its original sense. His Jeremiah Beaumont, a hero in the full connotation of romance, can find a pattern for his life only in terms of a spiritual quest. But Beaumont lives in a time so ill-suited to chivalry that even he cannot define the grail. He seizes upon an outrage—a woman betrayed under peculiarly cruel circumstances—and swears a knightly oath. If it had not been this villainy it could have been another; the vow, not the circumstance, is what matters. The relationship is basically impersonal, fitting between a knight and a maiden forlorn; it can cause bitter sorrow between a man and a woman. Still, the real tragedy for Beaumont is not in his motives as a champion. It stems from the fact that he does not live in Camelot; that he is, in fact, a young man trained in rationalism and the law. Caught between the imperative purity of his soul and the logical skepticism of his mind, between the springs of his actions and the interpretation other men place upon them, Beaumont is torn asunder by equivocations, delays, self-torments, suspicions and a violence that breaks out periodically from the agony of his cross purposes. Cheated of perfection, and with no fellow to reflect and parry his exaltation, he falls into abominations and meets death at the end in a spiritual world so far removed from his fellows that you could fairly say he was mad. That is the tragedy for Beaumont.

For his readers, Warren shows the matter in another light: Beaumont, of all the Kentucky men in his day, was unique. There were good men and bad men, the strong and the weak, the useful and the parasites whose lives touched the solitary hero, but they all measured the meaning of life in finite numbers. If the goals are limited, the methods can be compromised; only absolute ends demand perfect means. Thus it was with the men of Kentucky and thus it is so strongly with us that, when Warren must pause to explain what honor meant to Beaumont, we realize with a shock that we have been smiling. It is our tragedy that moral exaltation is so far lost to us.

A reader accustomed to the lean, anecdotal novel of external circumstance, astringent even in its sentiment, cannot fail to be impressed by the rich body of Warren's emotion. He must sense, too, the extraordinary energy of the man; few writers today have the strength to surround their chief figures with the events, the trappings and the passions of another age—that is left to, and performed meretriciously by, the costume novelists. The reader may also be repelled by the book, for our taste today, despite the raw violence of much of our fare, is to avoid too close a contact with extreme spiritual experience. It is now unbecoming in heroes to wrestle with the angel; every age has its own prudery—or fear—and we squirm in the presence of a naked soul.

Yet for all that *World Enough and Time* works in the tradition of full romance and is embellished with brilliant detail, it is in the main an austere novel. In part, that is because Warren is a deeply moral writer and his imperatives are so far from our pragmatism that we must strain our attention to focus upon them. Partly, also, I think the book seems austere because of Warren's construction. The antiquarian spirit has been carried too far and for its own sake; it comes in the end to seem mannered and to produce more

baggage than the narrative needs or can readily carry. Warren is a superb narrator in his own right and it often happens that side plots and minor characters, created in the whole, elicit a warm response from us that the principal events and figures cannot achieve. Part of our embarrassment in the presence of Beaumont's agony may be caused by the fact that we don't know him well enough.

It cannot be denied, either, that the book falters at its climax; that the struggle is never resolved but falls off into a brutal fantasia. Perhaps the dilemma of the soul and the world is so complete that not Warren nor anyone can resolve it. It would be comfortable, in that case, to deny it, to throw the word romance back at Warren and dismiss his hero as a perversity of idealism. But if it is pure moonshine that Warren is thrusting at us, why does he hurt us so often? We must be understanding more than we admit.

THE QUIET UPHEAVAL

GROWING UP INTO REVOLUTION, by Margaret Cole (Longmans, Green; \$3.50).

REVOLUTION? In Britain? Mrs. Cole makes plain in her candid, fascinating autobiography that she often thought the revolution so near that it might be delivered next morning with the milk on her doorstep. She was not alone, and those of us who hoped with her could cite precedent. Did not Wordsworth sing of a dawn (in another country) when it was bliss to be alive, and were we not alive when revolutionary Russia felled capitalism, and all other human evils, with one mighty blow? But one of the first casualties of the Russian upheaval was the organization of Guild Socialists in Britain to which Mrs. Cole and her distinguished husband had devoted their great gifts and their zeal. The more ardent members departed to the Communist Party of Great Britain, carrying with them their talent for invective and a certain pseudo-learning. It seemed then a shorter cut to the real revolution. Mrs. Cole was not to be daunted by the defection of a few friends. She threw herself into the organization of the SSIP (Society for Socialist Inquiry and Propaganda) or similar subversive

bodies and interspersed these activities with much arduous and ill-paid lecturing for the adult educational movement.

At the election of 1922 the Clydeside "revolutionaries" (Mrs. Cole's term) emerged and shocked the House of Commons by redelivering the violent election speeches which had made Glasgow belong to them. But they were not even pinks. The ablest of them, the late John Wheatley, a Roman Catholic publisher, when he was Minister of Health infuriated Labour women by flat repudiation of all birth-control measures and angered many more by dismissing the public ownership of coal mines as "the nationalization of a sucked orange." It was the Scottish sub-editors of Fleet Street, who, sensing copy, spread the legend of the wild Clydesiders. (Even today the Glasgow municipal corporation has not a single Communist councillor.) Again in 1926 a revolutionary situation seemed burgeoning. Millions of workers went on strike in support of the downtrodden coal miners, but there was no violence. The strikers, as Mrs. Cole recalls, merely played football matches against the police and soldiers who had been sent to subdue them. Even the gigantic Labour electoral victory of 1945, and the subsequent legislation, which seemed so much like a revolution by consent, turned out to be something else. Witness Attlee's present knife-edge majority. That is due, not as some surmise, to perverse commuters and irate middle-class housewives but to the Tory working man and his misssus.

All this is not to say that Mrs. Cole has led a futile or frustrated life. She has grown up, not with revolution, but with extensive social changes to which she and her circle have contributed a very great deal from the political side. Mrs. Cole was born to the intellectual aristocracy; her father was a Cambridge don who made his small children speak Latin at the breakfast table. She recalls the time "when, having forgotten the Latin for sausage, I was told that if I could say 'half' I might have half a sausage—and squealed out 'dimidium' through sobs." Mrs. Cole has much that is amusing to tell of the higher education of women in her day. In later life many eminent folk passed under

her hospitable roof. They ranged from Ezra Pound and the vexatious Ford Madox Ford to Harold Laski. She knew intimately the Sidney Webbs and Bernard Shaw, to whom, in her salad years, she was frequently disrespectful. Her style is marred by infelicities such as the frequent use of and/or and by some quite unnecessary footnotes. She misquotes the lethal sentence of a savage speech by Ernest Bevin which compelled George Lansbury to resign the leadership of the Labour Party. But her book would be hard to match for vivacity, wit and kindly human spirit.

WILLIAM H. STEVENSON

William H. Stevenson is a former editor of the London Daily Herald.

MOVIE MIRROR

MOVIES: A PSYCHOLOGICAL STUDY, by Martha Wolfenstein and Nathan Leites (The Free Press; \$4).

IN THEIR STUDY of the movies, Martha Wolfenstein and Nathan Leites analyze many American "A" films released since September, 1945, and a handful of recent British and French films. Their purpose is to establish the common story motifs of each national cinema and then apply them as clues to the subconscious processes that motivate the behavior of contemporary Americans, Britons and Frenchmen. This psycho-analytical approach to film content rests upon the assumption, plausible in itself, that films reflect or express actual fears and hopes.

The manifest themes of Hollywood's postwar movies are brought out convincingly. The authors isolate a series of standardized screen characters, defining their ever recurrent interrelations. Conspicuous among these characters are the "good-bad girl" who only seems to be promiscuous; the hero falsely accused of murder and faced with the task of

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clearing himself; the incompetent police; the parents invariably condemned to a background role, etc. The list also includes the two screen types of the onlooker who watches the course of events without grasping their meaning, and the professional performer who turns into a criminal—characters which, to the best of my knowledge, have not been noticed before. All this is neatly observed and wittily formulated.

The conclusions reached by the authors are, to say the least, far-reaching. Personal contacts between American male screen characters lack intimacy: this is taken as a sign that their counterparts in real life suffer from a fear of homosexuality. Young heroes are frequently persecuted by older villains: this is believed to symbolize the dormant hostility of American sons toward their fathers. And are not the sons imbued with hidden desires for their mothers? It is inevitable that the figure of the beautiful woman intent on conquering the reluctant hero should serve as a mother image. Each character is thus assigned a latent role besides his manifest one, and the ensuing correspondences allegedly reveal what is going on behind the scenes of American life.

However, the film material selected is much too limited to justify conjectures of this kind. The authors completely neglect "B" films, which are hardly less important than the feature productions as a source of information. Further, they draw almost exclusively on the detachable film intrigue, paying no attention to other elements—camera movement, rhythm, etc.—that make up the film, although the messages a film imparts cannot possibly be inferred from its story alone. Finally, they confine themselves to postwar films, yet do not hesitate to attribute definite symbolic meanings to them. This is an unsound procedure, for, exactly like dreams, film motifs yield their significance only if traced to their origins. Since the authors never think of establishing such case histories, their contention that the beautiful woman functions as a mother substitute is just a contention; she might as easily be anything else. In addition, had they probed into the past they would have found that screen characters and plot configura-

tions change much faster than subconscious motivation patterns are likely to change. Film content undoubtedly bears on these patterns, but it does so by way of detours which the authors fail to consider.

Their conjectures give the impression of being foregone conclusions read into the material rather than drawn from it. Where do they come from? The fact that the authors every now and then refer to Margaret Mead and Geoffrey Gorer as authorities on American culture would seem to point to possible sources of their revelations. The whole is a vaguely patterned display of psychoanalytical concepts which may or may not apply to the deeper layers of our mentality. I doubt whether such a psychological panorama is meaningful unless it is related to political, social and economic events. Unfortunately, the authors disregard the constant interplay between inner drives on the one hand, and wars, domestic pressures and the like on the other. Their psychoanalytical concepts are in effect inflated abstractions. Thus we are left in limbo.

SIEGFRIED KRACAUER

Siegfried Kracauer, former European editor, is the author of From Caligari to Hitler.

THE NOBLE DILEMMA

THE UTOPIAN COMMUNIST: A Biography of Wilhelm Weitling, by Carl Wittke (Louisiana State University Press; \$4.50).

BACKWOODS UTOPIAS: The Sectarian and Owenite Phases of Communitarian Socialism in America, 1663-1829, by Arthur Eugene Bestor Jr. (University of Pennsylvania Press; \$3.50).

PATHS IN UTOPIA, by Martin Buber. Translated by R. F. C. Hull (Macmillan; \$3).

UTOPIA is a protest against the injustices of the existing world and a vision of a world that ought to be. Therefore, it has appealed in every age to sensitive men appalled by evil and in search of a political god. Indeed, who but the callous and the unjust could remain indifferent to a blueprint that would establish a social structure consistent with the noblest ideals?

Like all counsels of perfection, however, utopia is subject to the dilemma of rigidity: if the plan admits correction, it ceases to be (or never was)

utopian; if it denies correction, it imposes on dissenters a system of injustice. Democracy is unsuited to utopia, for democracy is a method whereby men through the free play of conflicting ideas not only determine but constantly alter the patterns of their lives. Since utopia institutionalizes what is perfect, it must forbid challenge. Thus the utopian quest for justice leads to the establishment of an authoritarian regime. This has been the tragic course of every major utopia from Plato through Thomas More to the utopians of the present day.

Wittke's instructive biography of Weitling, perhaps the most important German pre-Marxian Communist, illustrates these polar extremes. A tailor by trade and a Messiah by inclination, Weitling rebelled against the exploitation of the poor and envisaged a "system" in which complete harmony would render government unnecessary. While in Europe he developed and publicized his ideas of an egalitarian society led by a dictator who would gradually relinquish his powers; but it was in Communia, Iowa, that Weitling sought to establish his ideal commonwealth. Fearful of democracy, he proposed for this ill-fated utopia a procedure which required a unanimous vote but stipulated that in the event unanimity could not be obtained, the decision was to be made by him. He never entertained the possibility that he might be wrong, and attributed his many failures to the vices of men. "If all had followed me as the children of Israel followed Moses out of Egypt," he complained, "I would have succeeded."

Somewhat less rigid but still authoritarian were the small-scale experimental communities of religious sects like the Shakers and Rappites which, motivated by ethical as well as economic considerations, achieved a degree of material success. Unfortunately, Bestor (in a scholarly but uninspired book) rushes through this period with a paucity of detail and concentrates instead on the familiar story of Robert Owen's non-sectarian community at New Harmony, Indiana. A brilliant industrial manager at New Lanark, Scotland, Owen proved a befuddled social theorist when he sought to construct a rational and non-egalitarian society. His naïve paternalism and considerable ignorance—both of

men and of the frontier—were hardly sufficient to translate his good intentions into a utopian reality. The fiasco at New Harmony amply justified the judgment of a contemporary who said of Owen that he "might live in parallelograms, but he argued in circles."

Buber is a distinguished Hebrew scholar who believes he has discovered the millennium in the agricultural communes of Israel. Distrustful of "systems," particularly the Marxian, he looks to the anarchists Proudhon, Kropotkin and Gustav Landauer, but selects only that part of their doctrines appropriate to his case. Like them, he ushers "government" out the door only to readmit it in the guise of "society" through the window. Highly mystical, he illustrates too well the ease with which sensitive but not overinformed men espouse simple patterns based on historical truths which they alone can see.

The futility of utopia lies in its impractical attempt to establish an ideal, almost other-worldly, community instead of grappling with the realities of the world in which men actually live. The tragedy of utopia is that in the name of good it commits evil. It seeks a perfect and therefore static world; but in a perfect world imperfect men must be made to conform; and in a static world even perfect men grow weary and bored.

DAVID SPITZ

David Spitz, assistant professor of Political Science at Ohio State University, is the author of Patterns of Anti-Democratic Thought, published last spring by Macmillan.

WORLD IN FLAMES

ZERO: THE STORY OF TERRORISM, by Robert Payne. With an introduction by Pearl S. Buck (John Day; \$3.50).

READ THIS BOOK. The author writes with profound moral passion. He has looked deep into the nature of evil in the Hitler-Stalin era, and his purpose is to wake us up to the full measure of its horror.

"If Hitler had not lived," says Robert Payne, "no one would have been able to imagine him." But the truth is that we failed to imagine him even though he did live. We hunted out his economic motivation and tried to appeal to his self-interest, never understanding how really evil he was. For we assumed that

his ends were the same as ours and that he differed only in his more ruthless pursuit of them.

But Payne shows that Hitlerism was not the Machiavellian pursuit of self-interest; that it was, on the contrary, a brutal stampede away from self-interest. Hitler's drive was suicidal. He actually sought his own destruction—but in a kind of Wagnerian *Götterdämmerung*, pulling down Germany and the rest of the world. "We may be destroyed," he said, "but if we are, we shall drag a whole world down with us—a world in flames." This is nihilism, what Payne calls the "zero philosophy." He points its implication for the future. Given the unlimited destructiveness of the hydrogen bomb and pathogenic bacteria, we dare not be sure that some new Hitler would hesitate to use these weapons simply because the universal destruction would involve his own. For what the nihilist really wants is to prepare for himself the biggest possible funeral pyre.

Payne considers Nechayev, the sensational Russian revolutionary of the last century, to be the father of modern political nihilism. The biographical portrait of Nechayev in Chapter I is a superb job; and the image of the "Nechayev monster" recurs as a *leitmotif* embodying the whole impact of the author's moral vision. Nechayev was the first to set forth principles for a high art of revolution. He acknowledged no constructive purpose. As a pure technician, the "artist in revolution" was to have no concern about the kind of social organization that might arise from the rubble. "Our task," he wrote, "is terrible, total, inexorable, and universal destruction."

The connection is traced from Nechayev to the Bolsheviks and Hitler. The Hitler link is clear enough, but the Bolsheviks seem to me to present a more subtle problem. Lenin began with the constructive purpose of Marx behind him; Nechayev was only a means. The question is whether the horse has displaced the rider, whether Nechayev has displaced Marx as the genius of Soviet policy. Payne thinks he has; I think we can still hope for Stalin to prove a mere unscrupulous opportunist. It is grim testimony to the moral state of things that that should seem the brighter alternative; and yet it is our only chance to

come to an arrangement with him. At the same time we dare not ignore the other terrible possibility—that the Bolsheviks are themselves victims of the "Nechayev monster" that carried them to power, and that the revolutionary momentum, the impulse to destruction, will prove stronger even than self-interest.

Payne is less convincing when he tries to explain the historical genesis of nihilism. He seems undecided whether to treat it as a peculiarly modern phenomenon, or as recurrent throughout history. His assertion that the philosophic roots of nihilism lie in Hume and the German transcendentalists requires a great deal more support than he offers, especially since the whole business of the Germans was to refute Hume. It is also strange that he should blame nihilism on the romanticists. The romanticists were the first since the Christian theologians to recognize the existence of the nihilistic impulse. But in that they are Payne's precursors and hardly deserving of censure.

Feeblest of all is a chapter called "The Fault in the Culture," which tries to show that the convergence of

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foreign influences divides the loyalties of a culture and leads to nihilism. If the author has a case, he has certainly not made it; and the recourse to chart and diagrams only shows up the inadequacy of the argument. One wishes he had considered the nihilistic component in the whole critical effort of the Enlightenment and in his own modern liberalism. He might then have understood that a certain amount of philosophic nihilism is the necessary precondition for private judgment. As it is, the final chapter, in which he prescribes principles for a religion of humanity to counteract nihilism, reads like an ineffectual afterthought.

All of which is to say that *Zero* is not valuable as a history of ideas. Its distinction lies elsewhere. It is a moral eye-opener, a sermon for our time. As such, I recommend it.

ROBERT LANGBAUM

During the war Robert Langbaum served with Military Intelligence as a specialist in Japanese language. At present he is doing post-graduate work in English literature at Columbia University.

BRIEF COMMENT

Tito, by George Bilainkin (Philosophical Library; \$3.75).

For 223 pages George Bilainkin's *Tito* is a rather pedestrian and none too informative study of Marshal Tito and the dismal use both the British and the Russians sought to make of him during and after the war. Then, on page 224, begins an extraordinary Belgrade-Kremlin correspondence and the book becomes absorbing. This doctrinaire debate (between Tito and his Vice-Premier Eduardo Kardelj, on the one hand, and Stalin and Molotov, on the other) over the meaning of Marxism is as medieval in spirit as any monastery argument on angels and pinpoints. When these modern doctrinaires aren't savoring such fine issues, they are engaged in charges and counter-charges whose shabby pettiness is astounding.

How much pay does a Russian general get as compared with a Yugoslav general or minister? And how much should he get when he's a military adviser at Belgrade? Did somebody say that the Soviet Union was decadent, and is that the sort of thing for a grateful Yugoslav to be saying? Was the history of the Russian Communist Party being taught the way Molotov thought it ought to be? The charges are endless.

At first Tito cringes; tries to explain and to placate. Then he becomes hurt and abrupt. Finally he speaks bluntly and defiantly. In the doctrinaire sense, it would appear that he was badly worsted. Tito's

Communism is not that of the annointed; rather he plays Luther in a historical sense that must make reminiscent reading both at the Vatican and at Worms. Yet he comes out of the quarrel with considerably more stature than the powerful men in the Kremlin.

The least admirable section of the correspondence suggests that McCarthyism is not confined to the United States; indeed, it is convincing evidence that American witch-hunters and Russian witch-hunters differ only in their quarry. Thus in one breath Tito says that he cannot move against a suspected spy for the British "solely on suspicion" and agrees that "without regard to all that, we shall dismiss him immediately from his post at the Ministry." And the Russians, unconcerned about proof, can only say querulously: "Why show such tenderness toward an English spy who, besides, is imbued with an uncompromisingly inimical spirit toward the Soviet Union?"

These letters, of course, have been available before. But this is the first time that they appear to have been set down in one chunk. Their impact, consequently, is sharp and clear and must leave a terrifying sense of the world plunged into a new religious war in which common sense stands little chance on either side of the hemisphere.

ALEXANDER H. UHL

MOVIES

After the War

WHY ARE WE being shown such pictures as "The Men"? Is it really wise or useful to translate subtle and painful psychological problems into the vocabulary of mass entertainment? Stanley Kramer, who made this one, also made "Home of the Brave"; both pictures are said to be offered in a spirit of responsible citizenship, to enlighten their audiences and spread sympathy through the land. But maybe they were produced to make money, just like any other picture, and maybe we flock to them to divert ourselves with something mysterious and horrible: accidents always draw crowds.

I don't really know; probably the motives and the reactions are mixed. But I'm sure that anyone who invades the clinics, the wards and the occupational therapy rooms of a veterans' hospital with a documentary camera assumes a special responsibility to make his purpose plain.

"The Men" is about paraplegics, bat-

the casualties paralyzed from the waist down and condemned to wheel chairs, crutches and braces for the rest of their lives. It pretends to be helping these men, but what it is doing for them is left awkwardly vague. What it is doing with them is clear enough: it is exhibiting them. This it does decorously and sympathetically, but the impression the picture leaves in your mind is of having blundered callously into someone else's sorrow and of being regaled with a number of personal histories that are none of your business. The medical sections of the picture are handled with some dignity and they are probably accurate; the personal story—Marlon Brando and Teresa Wright playing the leads—is soap opera. And if I understand correctly the extent of the hero's disability (the script is skittish on this point), the conclusion that the couple was well-advised to get married carries sentimentality well beyond tolerable limits.

Twenty years after its first great success (20 million people are said to have seen it in the 30s) "All Quiet on the Western Front" is being reissued. It is unlikely that any picture of the current crop will be more engrossing or provocative than this Lewis Milestone war classic.

From several viewpoints, "All Quiet" is a useful bench mark from which to measure the progress of the past two decades. Technically, the picture has dated more than one might have expected. Despite a few great passages, it seems today jumbled, jerky and posed, making its points too insistently, foreshadowing and repeating as though afraid of not being understood.

Louis Wolheim is superb in one of his greatest roles, "Slim" Summerville is scarcely less good; but a picture of this caliber today would demand a more convincing actor than the apprentice Lew Ayres in the part of the young hero. The dialogue, written by Maxwell Anderson and George Abbott, is stilted and sentimental, more like subtitles than human speech. Sound was only four years old when the picture was made.

But if movie techniques have advanced in twenty years, killing tech-

niques have advanced much faster. The great battle scenes of "All Quiet" seem to belong, not to Flanders and the Marne, but to Vimy Ridge and Bull Run. You can scarcely avoid wondering how antiquated and relatively harmless the combat pictures of World War II might look to any stray survivors of World War III.

The moral argument of the picture, heartening to its contemporaries, is also cold comfort today. Wars are pointless, it says, stupid blunders; they settle nothing and they are fought by decent men on both sides who differ only in their uniforms. Let brother embrace brother. Excellent sentiments, but since then we have coined words like "totalitarian" and "global," the brotherhood of man has given way on both sides to the holy crusade of "us" against "them," and we know very well that wars settle things for fair. Of course, "All Quiet" was the product of postwar reaction, but somehow after Hiroshima we didn't get that reaction. That's really why "All Quiet" is so dated; it was made by men who thought the world could learn a lesson. Very naïve.

The days when the only good Indian was a dead Indian are definitely over in Hollywood. For years we shivered with delight as, painted, befeathered, poisonous as a rattlesnake, he crept down on the sturdy settler and his innocent babes; for years we cheered as he died with a war whoop bubbling in his throat. Now there has been a revulsion of feeling, and your Indian today is as noble as Cato, as long-suffering as a Christian martyr. It is fitting amends, though a little belated.

A superior example of this new insight into the aborigine is the Technicolor "Broken Arrow," in which James Stewart becomes blood brother of the great Cochise (Jeff Chandler) and marries a beautiful Indian maiden (Debra Paget), and in which the pony express rides again. The picture is beautifully photographed, staged with taste and a decent regard for history; it is both melodramatic and touching. "Broken Arrow" may be a little insistent in its magnanimity, but it is first-rate entertainment.

ROBERT HATCH

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